

# Social Democratic Herald

VOL. 1

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1898.

NO. 14

There is One System which is the Best; It is the System which should Exist for the Greatest Good of Humanity.

Workingmen of America, unite!

You have nothing but your chains to lose.

You have the western world to gain from self-seekers and robbers.

Have you ever seriously thought about your position in civilization?

What is civilization and what is your relation to it?

Have you ever tried to understand what civilization is—what it is for?

Do you know why we are not all savages to-day—how we were civilized?

These questions are put to you by one who is interested in you—one of your class.

Come and let us do a little thinking for ourselves. What is civilization—how did it come about?

How will this do: Civilization is enforced (necessary) organization in the production and distribution of food and clothing.

Get to the bottom of that and you will find it is true; although some folks will try to persuade you differently.

Some folks will tell you that civilization is ease, comfort, luxury, art, culture, travel—the enjoyment of all these without exertion in producing them.

But the rock bottom fact is that we have been forced from savagery to civilization by our common wants as men and women, and the primary needs of us all are food and clothing.

Our needs have compelled us to work; our work compelled us to think; our thinking compelled us to discover and invent, and our discoveries and inventions—what have they done?

Before we reply to this last question, let us go back a moment. Your relation to civilization is that of one of its creators. Civilization has been made by work.

Now, you know that your ancestors and mine, who lived under kings and princes, were workers. That is they were the makers of the civilization they had. All civilizations have been maintained by people who worked.

Don't forget that, especially if you really want to understand your relation to civilization. No civilization was ever yet made by a king, or a prince, or a politician. No politician, or prince, or king was ever essential to civilization.

The fundamental fact which you will do well to grasp as a workingman—and I am afraid there is no higher civilization possible for our class until we all understand it—is that the workingmen of the world, in all ages, in union with the physical resources of nature, have been the architects and builders of civilization from the beginning of time.

You can readily convince yourself of the truth of this, if you will try and imagine a civilization without agriculture and the practical arts. A civilization without useful occupations—without trades—think of it! Food without farmers; houses without carpenters; clothes without tailors; shoes without cobblers; books without printers; art without artists. Dispense with these—what then becomes of civilization? How long would it last?

If you now see clearly what is so clear, that the workingmen of the country are the most important people in it, that civilization is unthinkable without workingmen, that civilization is made and maintained by the productive ability and powers of endurance of those who have skill in their fingers and ingenuity in their brains—commonly known as “the working class” and commonly treated as inferior, because they work—if you see this, then we will go on.

In passing, do not for a moment entertain the idea that people who do the work are not entitled to more than a “bare living”—to more than food for our stomachs, clothes for our backs and a house to live in. I have said that organization to secure these things constitutes civilization. This is the primary or fundamental truth. But our working class is entitled to ease,

## THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO THE WORKINGMEN OF AMERICA.

### “COME, LET US REASON TOGETHER.”

comfort, luxury, art, culture and travel.

The right of our class to these things is based on the fact that all of them are parts and conditions of the civilization which we have created. That we lack luxuries, are deprived of culture, have no opportunity to travel—except in search of a chance to get bread—is because we DO NOT CONTROL THE CIVILIZATION WHICH OUR LABORS HAVE CREATED.

I would not for a moment have you think that anything that Labor creates is too good to be enjoyed by Laborers. What are the very finest dress fabrics on the market? They are none too rich for a workingman's wife. Labor produced them, and, according to my way of thinking, Labor should enjoy them.

Why don't our class enjoy the things it produces? Why should you have to slave forty or fifty years in a bitter struggle to get bread? Is it necessary that your wife or your sister should “stitch, stitch, stitch, in poverty, hunger and dirt,” patching old clothes year in and year out, and never from the cradle to the grave knowing anything of the “sweetness and light” which the labors of our class have made possible for all, but which a few only enjoy?

If you will look about you a little, my friend, you can't fail to notice that the rich class, with plenty to eat and plenty to wear, with luxuries and art and opportunities almost unbounded for enjoying life, have gained the mastery over some part of the civilization which the labors of our class have created, or, they are in control of the indispensable resources of nature, and between them, by controlling as well the government of the country, they have divorced or separated our class from the means of producing things. This has been accomplished by every means known to the black art of capitalistic Kellars, from pocket picking to assassination.

The reason for such a state of affairs you will find in the fact which I have already mentioned—I wonder if you paused to think about it? Perhaps not; I have been saying it for ten years, yet I have seen plenty in our class continue running after two rotten political parties on some false issue like “protection,” or “free trade,” or “free silver,” or “sound money,” or an “elephant,” or a “Jackass!” However, THE REASON IS THAT OUR CLASS, WHICH CREATES, DOES NOT CONTROL CIVILIZATION.

I said that our needs and work and thinking had led to discoveries and inventions. Have you ever thought about it, that civilization is worked out, directed and maintained by tools? Tools or mechanics—and a man familiar with the tools, able to apply mechanics—these are the most important things in this world. They may not be so in the next—but, we don't know! What we do know is that here and now we can't get along at all without them.

And we know more: we know that whatever class owns the tools of civilization, owns the means whereby men and women live and civilization itself is kept going. We know—not least, I know, and maintain as against the opinions of the whole “push” of politicians and parties, professional “reformers,” press prostitutes, and practical philanthropists, that there is to be no peace in this world—and no very lively and general concern about any other—until those who make civilization are its masters!

Do you know that there is a steam harvester that reaps and binds ninety acres a day with the aid of three men? That is a great achievement, you say. And so it is. But there are millions of human beings in our country, belonging to our class, who don't get enough to eat from one year's end to the other. And that is another achievement—an achievement by the private ownership of the means of production, of the tools of civilization.

You know of plenty of people belonging to our class—the creators of civilization—who go poorly shod, or not at all, because they can't afford to buy shoes. There are millions of them, and they live in—O such misery, in town and country, and the preacher is telling them to be content in the condition in which God has placed them! And yet there is a machine used in shoe making which enables one man to handle 300 pairs of shoes in the same time formerly required to handle five pairs by hand! Is there any reason why our class should be content with anything short of the full benefit and enjoyment of the civilization they have made?

Again, with machinery a single cotton mill operative in the East can turn out 30,000 yards in a single day, against 9,000 yards a few years ago in twelve months. But there are millions of men, women and children in rags or scantily clothed, without the means of protecting themselves—IN SPITE OF LOW PRICES!

The tools which your ancestors and mine used were primitive and crude. But what do you suppose they would have done without them? What do you suppose we could do without them now? Don't you see that in these modern times we couldn't get along at all? Yet our ancestors owned their tools and because of that they were really better off than we with all our improvements. We are worse off because we don't own the tools of production and control civilization. We are going to be no better off until we do.

But we are told by those who are accustomed to the sweets of life, who enjoy the comforts and luxuries which our labors have made possible, that we ought to be contented in the condition in which God has placed us. I deny that God has had a hand in the business. The best recommendation a man can have is Discontent with the existing order. It is man-made and shows man's folly. God has nothing to do with selling franchises in the Chicago Connell Chamber; nothing to do with selling coal to miners at \$3.50 a ton, or paying them 85 cents for producing it; nothing to do with the employment of human beings in sweat shops; nothing to do with buying and selling Law at Washington; nothing to do with raising corruption funds and electing presidents; God wasn't heard of in the Oshkosh strike, or at Pana, or at Hazleton.

Get the idea out of your head that people who want you to be contented are your friends. I have observed that when such people experience reverses and are compelled to drink from the bitter cup of poverty, they, too, become Discontented! So long as they basked in fortune's smiles and reveled in the delights provided for parasites by the producers of wealth, they told you to be contented. Conditions reversed, they have become what every one of our class ought to be, thoroughly, wholesomely, persistently discontented and discontented with things as they are.

A combination of all the big coffin sellers of the country is under way. It will have a capital of about \$20,000,000. That's nice. They will be able to provide us with a box at reduced rates. The object of the trusts, you know, is to economize in production and reduce prices to the dear people.

Without any protest from the great “discriminating” public, and with the ready consent of the appointed himself, a Republican, the postmaster of Chicago has appointed a postoffice physician, whose duty is to heal the sick at government expense. The postoffice employees are said to be much pleased with the arrangement. So would be the miners of Spring Valley or Pana, with a similar arrangement. But that's different.

That jobs are easy enough to get in Chicago, now that the war is over and everybody is prosperous, let this advertisement in a daily newspaper testify:

“Situation Wanted—Will give \$30 for position as stationary engineer, \$15 a

week; city reference; license: X 457. Tribune office.”

Say, my poor drudge, better look out. If you vote a laboringman's ticket you will displease the masters. And wouldn't that be sad?

Social Democracy does not set the workers against the employing capitalists as individuals, nor does it believe in inspiring class hatreds. That would be neither moral nor sensible. All men should live together as brothers, as far as it is possible under the present crazy system. But this does not mean that the worker should vote his master's ticket on election day, by any means. The masters are interested in keeping the present system as it is, while the interests of the workers and of all true work demands that the system be swept away. Economically the worker is dependent on the good graces of the employing class, but politically he is not. He need not say much, but on election day he can go into the election booth and secretly make out his ballot to suit his own interests, and no one is the wiser. Social Democracy appeals to the manhood of the voter to cast his ballot on the side of bread and butter and the family. If the system is grinding you down, or if you can see that it is grinding others of your fellows down, strike it the hardest blow you can. That blow can be struck at the ballot box.

Don't be fool enough to let some “good fellow” get your vote on election day. It isn't a question of “good fellows,” but of principle, for if all the old parties have to do to get your vote is to put up “good fellows,” they will do so from now till doomsday, and the working class will grow worse and worse off and no one will have power enough to rescue them. As a rule it is a good plan to beware of “good fellows”—especially political “good fellows.” A “good fellow” as a rule is a man who pretends friendship for everyone who has a vote. “Good fellows” are never world-savers.

The workers should not forget that in November their chance will arrive to say what they think of the outrages at Hazleton, Oshkosh and Pana. Now, what DO you think of those occurrences? Don't you think they were good specimens of capitalistic oppression? Then it is your duty to cast your vote with the army of Socialism, which demands that such inhumanity come to an end and which has the only remedy that will wipe out such disgraces.

Don't go to the polls as a capitalistic toady, but as a self-conscious workman who believes all men should do their honest share of the world's work.

With \$2,000,000 due to depositors, the Tradesmen's National Bank of New York closed its doors. The police had to protect the bank building from frantic men and women who wanted an explanation of the failure of one of the oldest banks in these piping times of prosperity.

Do you see what the troops are being used for at Pana? Serving as an escort and guard for the imported negro miners from Alabama. They are being used to assist the mine-owners to defeat the miners on strike. They are being used to uphold the doctrine that property and private interests are more than man and the interests of the public.

London Daily Mail: The trade union congress is now firmly established as a national institution. Very much can be gained from the practical consideration of industrial questions year after year by the classes whom they most affect, and we therefore welcome as a healthy sign the attempt that will be made by the railway workers' union to restrict the subjects of discussion at the congress. The congress has far more useful topics to concern itself with than the nationalization of railways and mining royalties, bimetallism, and the taxation of ground values.

At one time it seemed in danger of degenerating into a platform for rival schools of professional demagogues; but happily, since the drastic reforms of the Cardiff congress of 1895, that has become a thing of the past. The congress has hardly yet recovered in the public estimation from its famous resolution in favor of “the nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.” If it desires to do so, it will do well to refrain from all attempts to accelerate the millennium.

This is “disinterested” advice, truly capitalism knows its business.

# Social Democratic Herald.

SHED EVERY SATURDAY

BY THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
OF AMERICA.

## EXECUTIVE BOARD:

JESSE COX, Chairman.

SEYMON STEEDMAN, Secretary.  
EUGENE V. DEBS., VICTOR L. BERGER,  
FREDERIC HEATH.

NATIONAL SECRETARY—THEODORE DEBS.

## CONTRIBUTING STAFF:

JOHN BARDESS, F. G. R. GORDON,  
VICTOR L. BERGER, FREDERIC HEATH,  
JAMES F. CAREY, G. A. HORN,  
JESSE COX, MARIAETTA HAILE,  
EUGENE V. DEBS, LOUIS E. MILLER,  
EUGENE DIETZGEN, WM. MAILLY,  
CHAS. R. MARTIN, SEYMON STEEDMAN.

EDITOR—A. S. EDWARDS.

No papers are sent to anyone on credit. If, without having subscribed, you are receiving it, then it has been paid for by a friend and no bill will follow.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:—One Year, 50c;  
Six Months, 25c. AddressSOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD,  
Room 56, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCT. 8, 1898.

## FUND FOR PRINTING OUTFIT.

Previously acknowledged ..... \$66.00  
J. H. Holsch, Bridgeport, Conn. ..... 50c  
E. Schweitzer, Milwaukee, Wis. ..... 50

## AS TO FREE TRADE.

These are the days when the men of the Single Tax faith, realizing that their movement has lost its virility, are, some of them, coming into the splendid Socialist movement with the secret hope of inoculating us with some of their doctrines. We welcome them, but they may as well know at once that we are ready to explode their views if they persist in forcing them on us. The marchists tried to exploit us, and our resolute and unfaltering action at Chicago showed that we were not to be exploited. Let our good friend, the Single Taxer, take heed. We have no enmity toward him, but his presence in our ranks will not cause us to soften our teachings to save his feelings.

Taking their cue from Henry George, and also led to it by the individualistic nature of their reactionary creed, the Single Taxers are, almost to a man, Free Traders. Free Trade is a seductive bit of fallacious economic reasoning, and the member of our party who is not yet clear or well grounded in the science of Socialism must be on his guard. It is the mistake of some well-meaning people to imagine that because they take no stock in Protection they must of necessity be for Free Trade. Be warned in time; Free Trade is a capitalistic snare. Many and other students of historic evolution have pointed out that the Free Traders, the real inspirers of the movement, the Manchester school of Commercialists, put it forth entirely in the interests of their trade. They wanted the right to pursue their profit-fleecing all over the globe without encountering national fences. Any interference with their attempt to make a profit-market of all countries was "an interference with individual freedom," and these crafty fellows, full of the dishonest ethics of commercialism, which permits of lusty false-reasoning with a straight face and a guardian-of-morality air, set up the cry that freedom was endangered. They pretended to be more concerned about the right of freedom than about their own particular interests. Naturally many minds fell into the trap, and to-day you may hear a poor, deceived fellow loudly proclaim himself a Free Trader, never realizing how nicely the commercial bandits have befooled him. Free Trade means freedom to fish for suckers in all markets, nothing less. Be on your guard!

Both Protection and Free Trade are capitalistic concerns; the toller should not bother his mind with them. The tariff is merely a question for the economic rulers of the race to quarrel over. Under the crazy capitalistic system Protection becomes a necessary expedient oftentimes. When Carnegie gets so much on top that his interests no longer need Protection he becomes a Free Trader. The master class are the world rulers. If their interests require a high tariff they will have it; if not, they will be for Free Trade, and carry the fool people with them on election day on such an issue, their minds having been well moulded for the game by concerted action by the rulers' press. And so, Mr. Single Taxer, we do not want any of your Free Trade mock oranges, and we give this as one of our reasons for considering Henry George a false prophet and a limited philosopher. To us the principal value of the Single Tax is that it has brought some fine men into the reform movement, men we are proud to fellowship with, and who we know will all of them sooner or later be clear-visioned Socialists.

## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

EUGENE V. DEBS, IN THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

In the outset, and to "clear the deck" for action, some attention should be paid to definitions. What is meant by the term "Social Democracy"? The term "social," as applied to "democracy," means simply a society of democrats, the members of which believe in the equal right of all to manage and control it. Reading this definition, men are likely to say, "There is nothing new in that," and they speak understandingly. The men and women who are engaged in organizing the Social Democratic Party of America are not pluming themselves upon the novelty of their scheme for the improvement of social, industrial and political conditions. They claim for their movement a common-sense basis, free from the taint of vagary and in all regards pre-eminently practical.

The wise man is credited with saying, "The thing that hath been is that which shall be, and that which is done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun." Crediting the declaration of Solomon as conclusive, there must have been a time before he lived when something like "Social Democracy," of which I write, existed in the earth, the germs of which, though latent for centuries, has aroused men from their lethargy from time to time in the processes of evolution, to find its most potent expression in the present era of "progress and poverty," civilization and savagery, wealth and war, charity and greed, aroused them to an interest in Socialism, which, with the chivalric courage of crusaders and the revolutionizing zeal of leonochists, has appeared to do battle for the regeneration of society.

No one hesitates to admit that the task is herculean; no one underestimates the power of opposing forces. Their name is legion, and they are organized forces, close, compact, resourceful and defiant. They do not propose to surrender, compromise or arbitrate. They have the masses in the dust, their claws upon their throats and their hoofs upon their prostrate forms. In the face of all the verified facts that startle thinking men, there is no requirement for extravagant speech.

But conditions as they exist are artificial, not natural. They were created by men, and may be changed by men, since it is a truth "that where there is a will there is a way" to elevate humanity as certainly as where there is a will there is a way to degrade it, and Social Democracy has one central pivotal purpose, the amelioration of social conditions and the emancipation of the victims of a vast brood of wrongs, all of which converge and consolidate in the one great and overwhelming wrong of robbing them under the forms of law of the fruits of their toil, and thereby reducing them to a condition where men dispose of their manhood and women of their chastity for the means of continuing lives that are a ceaseless horror. No well-informed, honest man either doubts or attempts to controvert the proposition. It is as self-evident as the law of gravitation. It is the crime of the ages, the one great curse resulting from "man's inhumanity to man," the ever-present and threatening calamity which wage-earners are required to face and provide against as best they may.

Capitalism is running riot throughout the land. The private ownership of the means of production, that is to say, the means of life, is doing its deadly work. The trusts, syndicates and corporations, with more eyes and bands than any mythological monster ever possessed, concoct new schemes of spoliation, and the masses sink to lower depths of poverty, want, woe and degradation.

The picture is not overdrawn. A Hogarth's hand would relax its hold upon its pencil in tracing the horrors of a sweat-shop or the agonies of the lives of tramps. Dante would look in vain throughout the realms of the infernal for incidents more horrifying than are found in the deep, dark, minning hells where miners work and famish. Only a Milton would be equal to the task of depicting the wreck and ruin wrought by the capitalist system in a land which should be a paradise, but which has been transformed into an arena more horrible than those where Roman emperors delighted to torture the victims of their vengeance.

All over this fair land, in every center of population, in mine and factory and shop, and spreading out into forest, field and farm, where bird and bee and brook make merry music and the winds transform leaf and spray into harps, where the flowers vie with the stars in making the earth as beautiful as the sky above, iron-tongued and iron-handed monsters of greed and lust, conscienceless as a Moloch and as relentless as death, have inaugurated wretchedness and poverty until from ocean to ocean, from valley to mountain top, rises one unceasing complaint, touching every note in the scale of discontent and anger, while statesmen and students, philosophers and philanthropists, amazed and agast, contemplate environments and await developments.

The millions of wage-earners do not own themselves, they are wage-slaves, and their masters control their lives and subject them to conditions as de-

grading as those which existed in times of chattel slavery. True it is that the united forces of labor could make themselves masters of the situation and change conditions to their liking, but divided on lines of political partisanship, intimidated, bulldozed and bribed, they have done the bidding of the capitalist class, have been misled and betrayed by ignorant and dishonest leaders until hope has all but perished.

At this supreme juncture Socialism comes into view and advances to the arena. It offers a remedy for social ills which must be mitigated if peace and prosperity are to come to the land. It strikes at the very root of capitalism by proposing to transfer the means of production and distribution, i. e., the land, mines, factories, railroads, machinery, etc., from private capitalists to the whole people to be operated by them in their collective capacity for the good of all, and this it proposes to do by the ballot of a triumphant majority of awakened, class-conscious supporters. The revolution is to be complete, but it is to be achieved by the ballot.

From the date of the introduction of chattel slavery into the British colonies of America to the time when the shackles fell from the limbs of four million slaves by the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln 243 years had elapsed. But it was amidst the smoke and carnage of war, when a thousand streams ran red to the sea, that chattel slavery, with its block and whips and pens, disappeared from the land.

Wage-slavery has now in the United States a firmer standing than was ever secured by chattel slavery. For two centuries and a half no gleam of hope dashed upon the darkness in which the chattel slave lived and wrought and died, but along all the years forces were being evolved to secure his rescue, culminating in a war of calamities unparalleled in the history of the world.

Socialism would work out the redemption of the wage-slave without a sanguinary conflict. Its emancipating programme includes no bloody ordens. It unfurls to the wind no battle banners except those inscribed with peace and good-will to man. Its first great proposition is to educate workingmen, and by an act which requires an exercise of will-power, to stand forth, redeemed and disenthralled from the domination of any other man or set of men under heaven. This can be done. It is the initial step to a higher plane of existence and a nobler life, where men grow and expand to their full stature. It is a step which evinces the beginning of wisdom. He who takes it plucks for his own behoof and those dependent upon him the richest fruit that has grown on the tree of knowledge in all the ages.

Thousands are doing their own thinking and are conscious of their class interests in the economic struggle. They are organizing everywhere. The movement is international.

The following is from the Declaration of Principles of the Social Democratic Party of America:

"The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule."

"The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man."

Capitalism is to eliminate in socialism. The scepter it has wielded so long and so mercilessly in the interest of its class is soon to fall from its nerveless grasp. It is destroying itself, and from its ruins will rise the Co-operative Commonwealth.

## THE BRISTOL TRADE-UNION CONGRESS.

The trade-union congress at Bristol is noted for certain important features. In the first place, the number of workmen represented is said to have been unusually large; next, an international character was given to the gathering by the presence of delegates from the United States, New Zealand, and Japan; in the third place, the president of the congress, Mr. O'Grady, delivered a moderate but still a distinctly Socialist address; and in the fourth place, the proposal which has been put forward for a great federation of labor was in the mind of every delegate. We may take it that in the ranks of skilled industry collectivism is a force to be reckoned with, though how far it has permeated the minds of workmen, and to how great a degree it is intelligently held, is a very different matter. English workingmen, we are glad to say, are apt to hold collectivist doctrines much as the members of certain religious sects hold views about the immediate coming of the end of the world. They believe in these views sincerely, and yet they never dream of acting on them, but cheerfully conduct their lives on an entirely contradictory basis. The president of the congress is, however, clearly a collectivist, and he set forth his creed in a speech marked by some ability. Mr. O'Grady does not seem to belong to the revolutionary variety of Socialist, whose day, in fact, is declining in most countries. He is rather of the evolutionary variety, as shown by his remarks on the workmen's compensation act, which he thankfully accepted as an installment of a wide scheme of industrial legislation. Mr. O'Grady does not appear to note a very broad

distinction between the position that the state should compel certain humane conditions of labor to be observed, and the position that the state itself should be the employer of labor, that it should carry on manufacturing and trading operations, that it should buy and sell, and should distribute the means of livelihood to all. Yet the distinction is vital, and all our existing labor legislation has kept strictly to one side of the line of demarcation.

The president of the congress is evidently of that advanced body of labor agitators who hold that trade-unionism, as we have known it, is a spent force. Recently an elaborate proposal has been put forward for discussion as to the superseding of the trade-union in congress by a gigantic federation of labor, in which all trades, skilled and unskilled, shall be represented on the basis of numbers, and which shall also develop a fighting fund and a political programme of a quasi-socialist type. The idea seems to have penetrated the minds of many of the active men that, as things are, capital is winning all along the line, and that, consequently, some new method must be tried by which the working classes may be better equipped for the double end they appear to have in view,—legislation affecting the hours of labor and a minimum wage. Mr. O'Grady argued this matter out with much energy. He asked his audience to observe "the trend of modern industry," which was "distinctly toward collectivism," huge combinations of capital succeeding smaller individual concerns. An assumption which is far too sweeping and certainly not true of one great industry, i. e., agriculture, where small farms usually pay better than great ones. Labor has not yet, was his conclusion, been organized on methods efficient enough; trade-unionism did its own work in its own day, but now a vaster and better-led combination is needed if workingmen are not to be ground to powder by the action of the new trusts, rings and syndicates. Mr. O'Grady went on to indicate the kind of measures upon which such united working-class effort should be concentrated. They included the three methods of labor legislation, taxation, and "nationalization." The legal eight-hour day came first, then followed the taxation of land values, mineral rents, and royalties, and, finally, the "nationalization of railways," it being added, however, that these were but preliminary steps to a complete industrial collectivism, to be brought about by pacific means through the united political action of the working classes. In short, Mr. O'Grady hints at a political movement here analogous to the Socialist movement in Germany, but based upon a prior organization of industry.

Socialism would work out the redemption of the wage-slave without a sanguinary conflict. Its emancipating programme includes no bloody orders. It unfurls to the wind no battle banners except those inscribed with peace and good-will to man. Its first great proposition is to educate workingmen, and by an act which requires an exercise of will-power, to stand forth, redeemed and disenthralled from the domination of any other man or set of men under heaven. This can be done. It is the initial step to a higher plane of existence and a nobler life, where men grow and expand to their full stature. It is a step which evinces the beginning of wisdom. He who takes it plucks for his own behoof and those dependent upon him the richest fruit that has grown on the tree of knowledge in all the ages.

Thousands are doing their own thinking and are conscious of their class interests in the economic struggle. They are organizing everywhere. The movement is international.

The following is from the Declaration of Principles of the Social Democratic Party of America:

"The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule."

"The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man."

The University of Paris has refused Prof. Jaurès permission to deliver a series of lectures before the students of the Sorbonne on "The Foundations of Socialism in Their Relations to the Ideas of Morality, Art, and Religion." The University faculty explains this outrage on the freedom of science by denying the scientific character of the proposed series. Jaurès, who has shown his qualifications for scientific investigations as professor of philosophy in the University of Toulouse, could not in this case please the "scientific" spirit of the intellectual coterie of lackeys of the French bourgeoisie. The government of Geneva has expelled from its territory Vergnaud, the secretary of the Italian working men's unions in Switzerland, for alleged unlawful agitation during the recent general strike in that city. Vergnaud's case has been appealed to the federal council. The Socialists claim that the charges against him are groundless, and are made at the instigation of the vile Italian government.

The University of Paris has refused Prof. Jaurès permission to deliver a series of lectures before the students of the Sorbonne on "The Foundations of Socialism in Their Relations to the Ideas of Morality, Art, and Religion." The University faculty explains this outrage on the freedom of science by denying the scientific character of the proposed series. Jaurès, who has shown his qualifications for scientific investigations as professor of philosophy in the University of Toulouse, could not in this case please the "scientific" spirit of the intellectual coterie of lackeys of the French bourgeoisie. The government of Geneva has expelled from its territory Vergnaud, the secretary of the Italian working men's unions in Switzerland, for alleged unlawful agitation during the recent general strike in that city. Vergnaud's case has been appealed to the federal council. The Socialists claim that the charges against him are groundless, and are made at the instigation of the vile Italian government.

According to the last census, the capitalist class, properly so called, in Germany, numbers only 416,000 persons, of whom 80,000 are manufacturers, 111,000 are great merchants, 25,000 are great landlords, and 200,000 live on stocks, bonds, and the like. The middle class does not count more than 2,150,000 members. As for the proletariat, it numbers 15,000,000; of whom 4,000,000 are wage-workers in manufacturing industry, 200,000 are day laborers, 1,200,000 are mechanics, 2,000,000 are employed in trade and transportation, and 5,600,000 are agricultural laborers. Thus the capitalist class constitutes but 1.82 per cent. of the population, the middle class 14.4 per cent., and the working-class 73.4 per cent.

The Free Communist Association, at Clousden Hill, near Newcastle, which once consisted of 30 members, has now dwindled to three. The original concern is being wound up.

## MAN ABOVE CONSTITUTIONS.

Tho' we break our fathers' promise,  
We have nobler duties first;  
The traitor to humanity  
Is the traitor most accursed;  
Man is more than constitutions;  
Better rot beneath the sod  
Than be true to church and state,  
While we're doubly false to man?

We owe allegiance to the state,  
But deeper, truer, more,  
To the sympathies that God hath set  
Within our spirit's core;  
Our country claims our fealty;  
We grant it so, but then—  
Before man made us citizens,  
Great Nature made us men.  
He's true to God who's true to man;  
Whatever wrong is done  
To the humblest and the weakest,  
'Neath the all-holding sun,  
That wrong is also done to us;  
And they are slaves most base  
Whose love of right is for themselves  
And not for all their race.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

## WHO'S A PRINTER?

"Will the farmers and lumbermen come in on rainy days and pl type, or will the printers go out on fair days and help pull stumps, roll logs, tear their clothes, pinch their fingers and swear? Oh, bosh! There is no co-operation between a printing plant and a farm except financially." —A. B. Hicks, in *Industrial Freedom*.

That's it! In some occupations one must mash, burn and gash his fingers, while others can keep hands soft, but firm and shapely. Some must tear and soil their clothing, sweat and fume and swear, while others rush and saunter and swell. As the boys say: "Why are these things thus?" I am reminded by my ruminations of a real true story. I can vouch for it because the remark was addressed to me, and that, too, by a life-long "labor reformer."

We were engaged in a quiet, friendly conversation about "the movement," "the world," "mankind," etc., when, turning abruptly, the gentleman said: "You observe my hands? They are well kept, aren't they? Eh? Well, I'm a real true-blue democrat, but I like the professions which preserve our hands."

There are very many of this kind. I know quite a number who are so "humanitarian," speak pompously of "the cause"—"the great cause of humanity"—while the wife hollers in the kitchen and boils in the "limer sapum."

And as I chance to be of a somewhat practical turn of mind (though a preacher for twenty years), I have been thinking of late that if any publisher could be found who would insert the following ad. I would feel relieved to see it in print (though I surmise that the replies would have a far different effect):

"Wanted to Know—Who and where are the plumbers and trench diggers and longshoremen and hod-carriers and 'wasberwomen' and cheap cooks and scrub farmers et al. who are in love with their occupation" and "wish a job." Don't all write at once. Address

M. PLOYER,

"Shocktown, O." Of course, Mr. Editor and friends, the above is only the clumsy cogitation of "one of the cloth" who has a dull recollection of the man who had not where to lay his head." A great many persons with "soft hands" love that man so much that \$3,000 per year is small compensation for the joy they feel in telling all the world about it.

Funny old world, which, the scientists inform us, is now entering upon another "cycle." Perhaps that accounts for the many "ups and downs" observable in the commercial world, and the stunning cries with which our ears are saluted: "Democrat! Social Democrat! Demagogue! Magi! Monarch! Millioalre! Miser! Rab

# AMONG THE BRANCHES

## BRANCH MEETINGS.

[Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for \$1 per month.]

Colorado Branch No. 1, of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Conservatory of Music, 14th and Arapahoe, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Halsey Butler, Chairman; Mrs. Marian Steele, Secretary.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every wednesday evening at Koch's Hall, 101 Randolph St. Frank Whitney, Roanoke building, secretary.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3 Sunday afternoon of each month at Fitch's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

J. ZORN, Secretary.

Branch No. 3, St. Louis, meets second and fourth Tuesdays at 13th and Wyoming streets. Wm. Knease, secretary, 3338 Iowa avenue.

Branch No. 2 Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Stenzel's Hall, corner Monroe and Pearl streets, every Monday evening.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza. The branch issues a call for a general conference of Philadelphia Socialists for Friday, 8 p. m., September 30, at 223 North Twelfth Street.

Branch No. 11, Milwaukee, meets second and fourth Wednesdays, at 614 State street. Jacob Hanger, secretary, 614 Chestnut street.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Wednesday at 605 S. Third Street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. T. Gerson, secretary.

\* \* \*

Branches which have not yet forwarded dues to headquarters are requested to take up this matter as the first order of business and attend to it at once.

\* \* \*

Up in Wisconsin our comrades are as busy as bees in the campaign. Dozens of new branches will be organized there in the next sixty days.

\* \* \*

A. E. Gammage gave the address at the regular meeting of Branch 1 of Illinois, Wednesday evening, to a good attendance. New members were added to the roll, and the work of the Branch is attracting attention.

\* \* \*

Last week we reported seven new branches organized. While the number this week is less, the new branches are important and large in membership. They are located at Holyoke and Newburyport, Mass. Both start out with an aggressive membership clearly comprehending the principles and purposes of the party, and will render invaluable aid to the campaign now under full headway in Massachusetts.

\* \* \*

There is great activity at St. Louis, where the party has a candidate in the field for about every vacancy.

\* \* \*

A Social Democratic Party convention held at Amesbury, Mass., September 25, unanimously nominated as its candidate for congress Albert L. Gilling of Haverhill. At the same time John C. Chase was unanimously chosen as the party's candidate for State Senator from the fourth district.

A district committee was appointed consisting of Charles W. Green, Amesbury; James H. Hillsgrave of Haverhill; W. P. Porter of Newburyport. The object of this committee was to procure nomination blanks and secure the required number of signatures to place the candidates' names upon the official ballot.

Speeches were made by C. H. Bradley of Haverhill, candidate for secretary of state; Charles S. Grieves of Amesbury, candidate for state auditor; John C. Chase of Haverhill; W. P. Porter of Newburyport, candidate for governor, and James F. Carey of Haverhill.

**COMRADES OF BALTIMORE, RALLY!**

Saturday, October 9, 8 p. m., grand ratification meeting of the Social Democratic Party at City Hall plaza. Speakers: Com. Myer London, of New York, and Chas. Backman, candidate for Congress.

Sunday, October 10, 8 p. m., grand mass meeting at Grand Army Hall. Subject: "The Principles and Tactics of the Social Democratic Party." Comrades, agitate for good attendance.

**CAMPAIN COMMITTEE.**

## WISCONSIN.

Fusion between the Populists and the Democrats did not come about in this state, mainly because the Democrats discovered that the pop had no votes to deliver. The Democratic convention, thinking at first that there would be fusion, adopted a platform which Populist Schindler declared to be excellent, but which now that fusion was knocked out, Populist Robert Schilling says is made up of unpopulist buncombe. Naturally the pop leaders are placed in an unenviable light, and the voters are able to see through their disguises. They will poll a small vote, having lost the con-

fidence of the laboring class, as well as all others who detest trading for office.

The present campaign has nicely unmasked another "lover of labor," none other than the state organizer of the Federation of Labor in Wisconsin, Frank J. Weber. The Social Democrats were suspicious of his integrity to principle for a long time, but some months ago he approached one of our members and claimed that he had long leaned to Socialism, etc., and that now he wished to come out boldly for it, and to join our party. Fearing that perhaps we had done the man an injustice and misjudged him, he was admitted as a member of one of our branches. But the character of the man is now exposed, for he has enrolled himself as a speaker for the pops during the present campaign, and been nominated by them for a legislative office. And the pity is that there are other such men in the labor movement liable at any moment to bring disgrace upon it.

The S. D. P. has secured the required number of signatures to get on the official ballot, and its energies will now be turned to the other matters concerned in the campaign.

At the meeting of the campaign committee in Milwaukee on Monday, it was decided to print 100,000 copies of the state and national platforms, with cuts of the state candidates, for circulation throughout the state.

It was also decided to close negotiations with G. A. Hoech of St. Louis to make German speeches in the state, and also to secure Seymour Stedman, Charles Soelke, and other English speakers.

Comrade Debs is expected to make several speeches in the state, but no date has been fixed. The campaign committee also commissioned Thomas C. P. Myers as an organizer for the state, and for the present he will devote his entire time to the work, beginning his labors in Racine some day this week.

Eight Milwaukee members have obligated themselves to pay one dollar a month into a fund with which to keep an organizer at work constantly in the middle west states. The Milwaukee comrades are full of fire and are especially gratified at the favorable reports from headquarters as to the movement throughout the country.

## IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

New Hampshire has always been reckoned as a conservative state. While Massachusetts has been the home of "cranks" for years, it's only now and then that you can find one in the old Granite State. At the time of the Chicago convention we had six branches S. D. A. The three that were located in Manchester at once joined the S. D. P. Since then the Somersworth branch has joined. A new branch has been organized in Milford composed of first-class Social Democrats. Both Nashua and Exeter have voted to join the S. D. P. The work of reorganization has greatly retarded the educational campaign, and for this we shall poll a smaller vote.

Well, we believe we are just beginning to see daylight, and that the movement will progress from now on. We have Social Democrats in a number of country towns, and before another campaign is on good branches will be organized.

In the last election the S. L. P. candidate for Governor received 483 votes, a larger vote by one or two hundred than they will receive this year.

The Social Democratic Party expects to poll 500 votes.

We have secured the required number of names on our nomination papers.

Comrades, the work from now on will tell. Circulate literature and remember, push the circulation of The Herald.

The campaign rate nine weeks is only 10 cents. Send The Herald to all the disaffected workingmen.

The New Hampshire S. L. P. have voted to ignore The People in the future and will send reports to New Charter.

In conversation recently with an honest S. L. P. comrade, he said that the policy of The People was a disgrace to Socialism. I said: "That is true, and as the party endorses said policy the party itself is a disgrace to Socialism."

Political parties never reform themselves—never have and never will. Those honest S. L. P. comrades who hope to reform their party might as well quit at once.

In Comrade S. F. Clafin we have an ideal candidate for Governor. He is a workingman who has been identified with our interests for many years. He has been a member of the Knights of Labor and Federal Labor Union. He was one of the first men in New Hampshire to join the Nationalist movement, and his excellent pamphlet, "Nationalism," has had a wide circulation. He was one of the first agitators of the P. P. movement. Fearless and outspoken, honest and manly, always ready to do his full share and more for our noble cause, he ought to receive every radical vote in this state.

In Comrade Charles H. Mellen, of Somersworth, our candidate for con-

gress in the First district, we have a tireless worker, an able and incorruptible, class-conscious workingman who will always be found in the fore front waging the battle for labor's emancipation.

Comrade E. E. Southwick of Nashua, who ought to represent the Second district in the halls of congress, is a class-conscious workingman. A shoemaker by trade, and one of the old-time Socialist workers, a friend and co-worker of Herbert N. Casson for years, Comrade Southwick knows the Socialist movement from A to Z.

In Comrade Charles G. Levan, of the Manchester Swedish branch, we have not only an able and honest comrade, but a man who is doing his full share in the work for emancipation. Years ago he was Master Workman of the great Swedish assembly K. of L. Comrade Levan was one of the first and one of the last Knights of Labor in New Hampshire. He is a splendid worker for our cause, and we "Yanks" are proud of him and his coworkers in the Swedish branch.

## MANCHESTER.

### "OUR GENE."

Comrade Eugene V. Debs in an interview published in the Terre Haute Gazette, denies the absurd story sent out from Toronto two weeks ago, and commented on by the journalistic prostitute on the corner of Dearborn and Madison streets, Chicago, with true Medillian savagery. Comrade Debs said

"Somebody started a story that I went to Toronto in order to get an office in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. I went there because I was near at hand and at the invitation of some individual members of the organization. While I do not believe in the theory of the Firemen's order, its principles in my opinion being narrow and not on broad or liberal lines, I have never lost interest in the members, as I grew up in the order, one might say, and the welcome I received at Toronto was of the warmest possible character and very gratifying to me.

"There is no office in any labor organization that I would hold. No one knows the tyranny that office in a labor organization carries with it. I would not hold an office in a labor organization if it paid me \$100,000 a year. By remaining outside my opinions are my own and I can express myself without coming into contact with the narrow principles or theories of any order. If I stayed in I would be in the position of a hired man. I would have to work out my plans with reference to the pluses of the organization and would not feel free to criticize labor where I saw labor was in the wrong."

Our comrade has been invited to address the Nineteenth Century Club of New York next March. He has accepted the invitation and it is safe to say that on that occasion will be heard a radical presentation of humanity's cause in one of the most noted organizations of its kind in the country. He has also been invited to speak before the Good Government Club of the University of Michigan.

## THE NORTHWESTERN MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

I have lying before me a paper published in the interest of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, in which company I am insured for a small amount—all I can afford to pay the premium—containing a summary of their annual statement for Jan. 1, 1898, in which is an array of figures quite startling to one who realizes that the expenses and profits of every non-producing business are drawn from the results of labor in its contest with nature.

The vastness of the sum taken by this business as a whole becomes evident when one walks through the district where such business locates in either of our large cities and sees the number there are of such concerns, of which the one mentioned here is not the greatest. Observe the fine offices they occupy, see the number of clerks employed, consider the salaries paid the presidents of these companies, and the commissions paid thousands of agents.

In the report that lies before me the amount represented by "Commissions, Medical Examinations, Taxes, etc., is for this one company \$2,069,897—over two million dollars. Next item, "Office Salaries, Expenses of Trustees, Legal Loan and Real Estate Expenses, etc., \$717,537." What is the total of such items for all insurance companies? What will be the bill that labor ultimately must pay, even if indirectly?

The income of this company, aside from the premiums, is given as \$4,897,692. This amount, minus the amount paid for taxes, is drawn from labor, as there is no income from capital except as it is used to buy labor.

How much of the over \$15,000,000 of premium money received by this company rightfully belongs to labor it is impossible to tell. See how this business piles up: Jan. 1, 1888, total income, \$1,633,785; Jan. 1, 1898, only thirty years later, \$20,020,162, with total assets of \$103,375,536. Five per cent interest on this last sum would pay \$1,000 per year to more than 5,000 men. But consider only the expenses of this company, \$2,964,949, an amount sufficient to pay 2,900 men \$1,000 each;

and yet labor as a whole refuses to unite and vote away a system under which such a busness is made possible.

So much for that. Now let us consider its bearing individually. I am a clerk with a salary of less than \$1,000, with which, because I love my home, I am trying to pay my way and, through a building association, to buy the house I live in. Out of my salary I must pay \$56 this year as interest on the amount still due, then taxes, water rent and ground rent. Now, from the little that is left I must pay \$30 yearly to an insurance company, so that if I should die before my wife this Christian, civilized people may not take her house; and, unless she can give some service more valuable than thousand of others who cannot find employment, she might suffer even for food and clothing. If such is my outlook with \$800 salary, what about the vast number who cannot afford to pay for anything but their miserable hand-to-mouth existence?

But the saddest of all is the case of the poor and sick. This wonderful scheme evolved of our civilization, this occupies held aloft by its agents as the "brazen serpent in the wilderness," will have nothing to do with a man much short of perfect physically; and not only is this true, but the history of his family before him must undergo scrutiny, and if they have not lived and died to suit, as per average by statistics, your application is turned down.

How my heart aches when I see a father struggling and fighting against disease that he may not lose his earning power, unable to get insurance, he who needs it most, even if he could pay for it, doomed to be overcome, knowing that by no means can he provide for the future of those he loves! I say my heart aches in sympathy with his for the prospect of the future in store for wife and children.

At the dawn of the day of Socialism, imperfect though the beginnings may be, this great insurance business will no longer have any excuse for existence.

CHAS. H. HOLTON.

## A CROOKED THEORY.

Sir William Crookes' late echo of the old exploded Malthusian doctrine of overpopulation brings forth this criticism:

For many generations they have been pretending to see a cause of grave concern in the increase of population. The earth, they declared, would shortly be so crowded that the authorities would have to hang boards outside announcing "Standing Room Only." The people's self-multiplication, they declared, meant poverty and crime, and strained a nation's resources; and wizened, how-backed philosophers wrote treatises on the need for checking the fecundity of mankind.

Instead of which, the meanness of the French Government is steadily increasing, because the population of France is steadily declining. Taxes on bachelors, prizes to the parents of large families, appeals to their patriotism may come and go; but the decrease in the population of France seems fated to go on till Paris is a desert, and the last Frenchman has conspired Dreyfus and Zola, and died. Whilst the races whose improvident fertility was to endanger the power of their state, are emigrating, colonizing, conquering new lands, overrunning the earth, and spreading their language and empire from pole to pole, the careless French, charm their Legislature never so wisely, remain concerned only to escape the cares of matrimony.

In other countries, too, we see Nature mocking the wise Malthus. Dr. Mary Jordan Finlay calls attention to "an evolutionary process which no obstetrician can fail to notice," and declares that "at the present rate of change the time is not far distant when women will no longer suckle their infants. Among the cultured classes of the most advanced races the proportion of women who now cannot nurse their children, and those who can nurse them but a few weeks, is still larger."

All over the world, the more educated women refuse to spend their lives in the pangs and cares of rearing children: families of one or two are steadily supplanting the formerly common families of ten or twelve.

Sir Wm. Crookes, I think, may throw off his anxiety. Nature appears quite capable of minding her own business and of providing for her own needs.

The scientist of the future need not trouble himself to check increase of population, but to check the loss of it.

One-fourth of the children born die within one year, and one-half die within five years. How to prevent this waste? That is the question. Upon its solution hangs the key to nearly all that is contained in what we call the Social Problem.

The training of children and the responsibility for their sustenance must tend more and more to be transferred from the shoulders of the individual to those of the community. Everyone begins to perceive that the faults of the parents ought not to crush the chances of the children; and that justice is in this case backed by national interest, as the children are the nation's most precious property, and the difference between the making and the marring of them is as the difference between the making and the marring of the nation.

## SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

### OBJECT.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

### CANDIDATES OF THE PARTY.

Baltimore, Md.: For Congress, Charles Backman, William Fox and C. E. Taylor.

New Hampshire: For Governor, Sumner F. Claffin; for Congress, first district, Charles H. Mellen; second district, Edward E. Southwick.

Terre Haute (Vigo county), Indiana: For judge of the superior court, Samuel M. Young; prosecuting attorney, Charles D. Wilgus; treasurer, Clarence E. Kingery; auditor, William Ehrenhardt; clerk, Charles R. Waltz; recorder, John S. Kingery; sheriff, Herman Stumpf; coroner, Andrew J. Melville; commissioner, second district, Samuel R. Hoar; surveyor, Mock Turtle; joint representatives, Frank Storz and James Oneal; representatives, Gustave Richter; insurance commissioner, Eugene H. Rooney; Congress (fourth district), Louis A. Arnold; sheriff, Charles A. Blodgett; clerk of courts, Nicholas B. Schwint; county clerk, F. W. Rehfeld; county treasurer, Philip Siegel; register of deeds, Gustave Richter; county surveyor, Carl Malewski; coroner, Fred Bruehesen.

Missouri: Judge of the supreme court (long term), Albert E. Sanderson; judge of the supreme court (short term), G. A. Hoehn; superintendent of public schools, James A. Rendall; railroad and warehouse commissioner, George Storz; judges of the circuit court, Jacob L. Franz, J. C. Wilhel and Joseph Filler; judge of the court of criminal correction, Anton Loy; judge of the probate court, William Ruesche; recorder of deeds, A. F. Haussler; clerk of the circuit court, L. Stoll; clerk of the court of criminal correction, William Brandt; clerk of the criminal court, Nic Berling; clerk of the probate court,

# THE REPUBLICAN AND THE BISHOP.

## A PASTORAL VISIT AND ITS RESULT.

From Victor Hugo's "Les Misérables."

A man lived alone in the country near D—; this man, let us out with the great word at once, was an exconventionalist, of the name of G—. People talked about him, in the little world of D— with a species of horror. A conventionalist, only think of that! Those men existed at the time when people "thou-ed" one another and were called citizens. This man was almost a monaster, he had not voted for the king's death, but had done all but that, and was a quasi-regicide. How was it that this man had not been tried by court-martial, on the return of the legitimate princes? They need not have cut his head off, for clemency is all right and proper, but banishment for life would have been an example, and so on. Moreover, he was an atheist, like all those men. It was the gossip of geese round a ructure.

And was this G—a vulture? Yes, if he might be judged by his ferocious solitude. As he had not voted the king's death, he was not comprised in the decree of exile, and was enabled to remain in France. He lived about three miles from the town, far from every village, every road, in a nook of a very wild valley. He had there, so it was said, a field, a hut, a den. He had no neighbors, not even passers-by; since he had lived in the valley the path leading to it had become overgrown with grass. People talked of the spot as of the hangman's house. Yet the bishop thought of it, and from time to time gazed at a spot on the horizon where a clump of trees pointed out the old conventionalist's valley, and said: "There is a soul there alone," and he added to himself, "I owe him a visit."

But, let us confess it, this idea, which at the first blush was natural, seemed to him after a moment's reflection strange and impossible, almost repulsive. For, in his heart, he shared the general impression, and the conventionalist inspired him, without his being able to account for it, with that feeling which is the border line of hatred, and which is so well expressed by the word estrangement.

Still the shepherd ought not to keep aloof from a scabby sheep; but then what a sheep it was! The good bishop was perplexed; at times he started in that direction, but turned back. One day a rumor spread in the town, that a young boy who waited on G—in his den, had come to fetch a doctor; the old villain was dying, paralysis was overpowering him, and he could not last out the night. Happy release!

Some added.

The bishop took his stick, put on his overcoat to hide his well-worn cassock, as well as to protect him against the night breeze which would soon rise, and set out. The sun had almost attained the horizon when the bishop reached the excommunicated spot. He perceived with a certain heart-beating that he was close to the wild beast's den. He strode across a ditch, clambered over a hedge, entered a neglected garden, and suddenly perceived the cavern behind some shrubs. It was a low, poor-looking hut, small and clean, with a vine over the front.

In front of the door an old white-haired man, seated in a wornout wheel chair, was smiling in the sun. By his side stood a boy, who handed him a pot of milk. While the bishop was looking at him the old man uplifted his voice: "Thanks," he said, "I want nothing further," and his smile was turned from the sun to rest on the boy.

The bishop stepped forward, and at the noise of his footsteps the seated man turned his head, and his face expressed all the surprise it is possible to feel after a long life.

"Since I have lived here," he said, "you are the first person who has come to me. Who may you be, sir?"

The bishop answered, "My name is Bienvenu Myriel."

"I have heard that name uttered. Are you not he whom the peasants call 'Monsieur Welcome'?"

"I am."

The old man continued, with a half smile, "In that case you are my bishop?"

"Yes, a little."

"Come in, sir."

The conventionalist offered his hand to the bishop, but the bishop did not take it—he confined himself to saying:

"I am pleased to see that I was deceived. You certainly do not look ill."

"I am about to be cured, sir," the old man said; then after a pause he added,

"I shall be dead in three hours. I am a bit of a physician, and know in what way the last hour comes. Yesterday only my feet were cold; to-day the chill reached my knees; now I can feel it ascending to my waist, and when it reaches the heart I shall stop. The sun is glorious, is it not? I bad myself wheeled out in order to take farewell glance at things. You can talk to me, for it does not weary me. You have done well to come and look at a dying man, for it is proper that there should be witnesses. People have their families, and I should have liked to go on till dawn. But I know that I can hardly last three hours. It will be night, but, after all, what matter?"

Flinsberg is a simple affair, and day-light is not necessary for it. Be it so,

Then he turned to the lad: "Go to bed. You sat up the other night, and must be tired."

The boy went into the cabin; the old man looked after him, and added, as if speaking to himself:

"While he is sleeping I shall die; the two slumbers can keep each other company."

The bishop was not so moved as we might imagine he would be. He did not think that he saw God in this way of dying; and—let us out with it, as the small contradictions of great hearts must also be indicated—he, who at times laughed so heartily at his grandeur, was somewhat annoyed at not being called monseigneur, and was almost tempted to reply, citizen. He felt an inclination for coarse familiarity, common enough with doctors and priests, but to which he was not accustomed. This man, after all, this conventionalist, this representative of the people, had been a mighty one of the earth; for the first time in his life, perhaps, the bishop felt disposed to sternness.

The Republican, in the meanwhile, regarded him with modest cordiality, in which, perhaps, could be traced that humility which is so becoming in a man who is on the point of returning to the dust. The bishop, on his side, though he generally guarded against curiosity, which according to him was akin to insult, could not refrain from examining the conventionalist with an attention which, as it did not emanate from sympathy, would have pricked his conscience in case of any other man. The conventionalist produced the effect upon him as being beyond the pale of law, even the law of charity.

—, calm, almost upright, and possessing a sonorous voice, was one of those grand octogenarians who are the amazement of the physiologist. The revolution possessed many such men, proportioned to the age. The thoroughly tried man could be seen in him, and, though so near his end, he had retained all the signs of health. There was something which would disconcert death in his bright glance, his firm accent, and the robust movement of his shoulders; Azreal, the Mohammedan angel of the tomb, would have turned back, fancying that he had mistaken the door. G— seemed to be dying because he wished to do so; there was liberty in his agony, and his legs alone, by which the shadows clutched him, were motionless. While the feet were dead and cold, the head lived with all the power of life and appeared in full light. G— at this awful moment resembled the king in the Oriental legend, flesh above and marble below. The bishop sat down on a stone and began rather abruptly:

"I congratulate you," he said, in the tone people employ to reprimand; "at least you did not vote the king's death."

The Republican did not seem to notice the covert bitterness of this remark, at least; he replied, without a smile on his face:

"Do not congratulate me, sir; I voted the death of the tyrant." It was the accent of austerity opposed to that of sternness.

"What do you mean?" the bishop continued.

"I mean that man has a tyrant, ignorance, and I voted for the end of that tyrant which engendered royalty, which is the false authority, while knowledge is the true authority. Man must only be governed by knowledge."

"And by his conscience," the bishop added.

"That is the same thing. Conscience is the amount of innate knowledge we have in us."

Monseigneur Welcome listened in some surprise to this language, which was very novel to him. The Republican continued:

"As for Louis XVI., I said no. I do not believe that I have the right to kill a man, but I feel the duty of exterminating a tyrant, and I voted for the end of the tyrant. That is to say, for the end of prostitution for women; the end of slavery for men, and the end of night for children. In voting for the Republic I voted for all this: I voted for fraternity, concord, the dawn! I aided in the overthrow of errors and prejudices, and such an overthrow produces light; we hurried down the old world, and that vase of wretchedness, by being poured over the human race, became an urn of joy."

"Mingled joy," said the bishop.

You might call it a troubled joy, and now, after that fatal return of the past which is called 1814, a departed joy. Alas! the work was incomplete, I grant; we demolished the ancient regime in facts, but were not able to suppress it completely in ideas. It is not sufficient to destroy abuses, but morals must also be modified. Though the mill no longer exists, the wind still blows."

"You demolished it; it may be useful, but I distrust a demolition complicated with passion."

"It has its passion, sir, bishop, and that passion is an element of progress. No matter what may be said, the French Revolution is the most powerful step taken by the human race since the advent of Christ. It may be

incomplete, but it was sublime. It softened minds, it calmed, appeased and enlightened, and it spread civilization over the world. The French Revolution was good, for it was the consecration of humanity."

The bishop could not refrain from muttering:

"Yes? '93!"

The Republican drew himself up with almost mournful solemnity, and shouted, as well as a dying man could shout:

"Ah! there we have it! I have been waiting for that. A cloud had been collecting for fifteen hundred years, and at the end of that period it burst: you are condemning the thunder-clap."

The bishop, without perhaps confessing it to himself, felt that the blow had gone home; still he kept a good countenance, and answered:

"The judge speaks in the name of justice; the priest in that of pity, which is only a higher form of justice. A thunder-clap must not deceive itself."

And he added, as he looked fixedly at the conventionalist, "And Louis XVII?"

The Republican stretched forth his hand and seized the bishop's arm.

"Louis XVII. Let us consider. Whom do we weep for? Is it the innocent child? In that case I weep with you. Is it the royal child? In that case I must ask leave to reflect. For me, the thought of the brother of Carrouche, an innocent lad, hung up under the arms in the Place de Greve until death ensued, for the sole crime of being Cartouche's brother, is not less painful than the grandson of Louis XV., the innocent boy martyred in the Temple Tower for the sole crime of being the grandson of Louis XV."

"I do not like such association of names, sir," said the bishop.

"Louis XV., Cartouche; on behalf of which do you protest?"

There was a moment's silence; the bishop almost regretted having come, and yet felt himself vaguely and strangely shaken. The conventionalist continued:

"Ah! sir priest, you do not like the crudities of truth, but Christ loved them; he took a scourge and swept the temple. His lightning lash was a rough discloser of truths. When he exclaimed, 'Suffer little children to come on to me,' he made no difference among them. He made no difference between the Dauphin of Barabbas and the dauphin of Herod. Innocence is its own crown, and does not require to be a highness; it is as august in rags as when crowned with fleurs de lis."

"That is true," said the bishop in a low voice.

"You have named Louis XVII," the conventionalist continued, "let us understand each other. Shall we weep for all the innocent martyrs and children of the lowest as of the highest rank? I am with you there, but as I said, in that case we must go back beyond '93, and begin our tears before Louis XVII. I will weep over the children of the kings with you, provided that you weep with me over the children of the people."

*Concluded Next Week.*

### INTERNATIONAL MENTION.

More than 20,000,000 acres of land in the United States are owned by the aristocracy of England. The heirs of Viscount Sculley own 3,000,000 acres in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska.

According to late consular reports, two towns in France are now lighted with acetylene gas. One of them has a population of 3,000, while the other is but half that large. It is reported that it costs less than half the price of ordinary gas.

In 44 out of the 63 governments in Russia there exists a terrible famine. The harvest has been destroyed, and the farmers will not even have enough for their own families and cattle. The farmers complain bitterly that the government is doing next to nothing to help the starving people.

New York World: The old scandal of the New York schools grows worse instead of better as the years go on. In the early '90s about 10,000 children were turned away each year for lack of school room. Last year the number of the excluded rose to 18,000. This year in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx—the former city—it is estimated that an army of 30,000 children will be shut out. The bond "hold-up" is in part responsible, of course, but not altogether. Without that we should still have had a repetition of the old scandal, because we have the old official incapacity and because there is "politics" in the rate tax.

A little band of artist-printers at East Aurora, N. Y., are trying to embody in their work something of the beauty of William Morris's Kelmscott editions. All their books are the products of real handicraftsmanship, and the initial letters are colored in a way that recalls the illuminated manuscripts of the middle ages. They issue a quaint little satirical monthly, "The Philistine: A Periodical of Protest." Their latest reprint is William Morris's "Dreams of John Ball," and it seems particularly fitting that the first American edition of this Socialistic romance should appear in so lovely a form.—Clarion.

An important step in the industrial development of Russia is the recent action of the czar in granting to foreigners the right to hold real estate and mineral property in the Russian empire, says the Engineering Journal.

### SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY.

The following list of books is by no means complete, but it contains many of the ablest works on Economics, Politics and the Labor Movement. Any books desired, but not included in the list, will be procured at publisher's prices. Orders sent to the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD will receive prompt attention. The price which covers the cost of postage, must accompany your order. Address

### SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

Karl Marx. Capital. Cloth.....	15
F. W. Sprague. Socialism, from Genesis to Revelation. Cloth.....	15
Gronlund. The Co-operative Commonwealth. Paper.....	15
August Bebel. Woman: Past, Present and Future.....	15
Blatchford. Merrie England.....	15
Edward Bellamy. Looking Backward.....	15
Edward Bellamy. Equality. Cloth.....	15
Lissagary. History of the Commune of 1871.....	15
Fahian. Essays in Socialism.....	15
Charles Vall. Modern Socialism.....	15
Ashplant. Heterodox Economics and Orthodox Profits.....	15
Herbert Casson. The Red Light.....	15
Henry D. Lloyd. Wealth Against Commonwealth.....	15
Thorold Rogers. Six Centuries of Work and Wages.....	15
Volney. The Ruins of Empires.....	15
Thomas Paine. The Rights of Man.....	15
The Socialism of John Stuart Mill. Edited by Bliss.....	15
Henry George. Social Problems.....	15
Oshorne Ward. The Ancient Lowly.....	15
W. D. P. Bliss. What Christian Socialism Is.....	15
Adams. President John Smith.....	15
Richard T. Ely. Socialism and Social Reform.....	15
Blatchford. Love and Sympathy the Basis of Socialism.....	15
Buchner. Man in the Past, Present and Future.....	15

### PAMPHLETS.

Frederick Engels. Development of Socialism From Utopia to Science.....	15
J. L. Joynes. Socialist Catechism.....	15
Sidney Webb. What Socialism Means.....	15
The Class Struggle.....	15
The Religion of Capital and Socialism Explained.....	15
The Proletariat and Down With Socialism.....	15
F. G. R. Gordon. Hard Times: Cause and Cure.....	15
Karl Marx. Analysis of Money.....	15
Watkins. Evolution of Industry.....	15
Wm. Morris. Monopoly: How Labor Is Robbed.....	15
Wm. Morris. Useful Work vs. Useless Toll.....	15

Heretofore it has been necessary for foreign companies operating in Russia and its dependencies to hold their property in the name of a Russian subject, a system which has had certain obvious disadvantages and undoubtedly has deterred some capitalists from making investments, to which they might have been favorably inclined otherwise. Small capital should give thanks.

By learning to manage the material interests of a single town, the Socialists are preparing themselves for the administration and direction of the whole of France. The administrative capacity of the Socialists has astonished their foes as much as it has delighted their friends. Men like Delory, a metal worker, and Carrette, a weaver, who in the whole course of their lives have never been possessors of £25, have been for four years at the head of the administration of towns whose yearly budget ranged from £100,000 to £250,000.

### PLATFORM OF THE S. D. P.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the social share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production, for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors in the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

That the workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.